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documents in this *Calendar*, however, not only give English readers the Spanish side of the story, told from the English point of view by Laughton's *State Papers*, but will help them toward a solution of many important historical problems, which present themselves in connection with the events of 1588, such problems as the attitude maintained toward the Enterprize by the Guises, the Pope, the King of France, and the Duke of Parma. This volume also illustrates the peculiar relation in which Philip stood to Mary Stuart and also the behavior and plans of the Scottish Catholic nobility in reference to the Spanish invasion of England. It illuminates, and perhaps solves, the further question whether Stafford, the English ambassador in Paris, was a real traitor, a question of far more than merely biographical interest.

Though the Armada is the culmination of the volume, as in a sense it was the culmination of the reign, it caused no sudden break in the plans of the morbidly tenacious old hermit king. The great struggle for the supremacy of Spain and Spain's religion continued everywhere; the Enterprize of England was a dream still cherished. Indeed the failure of the Counter-Armada of 1589 gave Philip some reason to believe that Heaven had not "for his sins" deserted him. But Spain's efforts were but the flaring of a dying fire. Even her successes were but the negative successes of defence. There was much talk in the late years of Philip and even after his death, of renewing, with better fortunes, the undertaking against England, but the new Armadas perished as hopelessly as the first, although the Spaniards effected an alarming junction with the forces of the rebel Tyrone.

For five years after Philip II. had sunk baffled and beaten into his orthodox grave the great heretic queen, who, with her hardy, sacrilegious islanders had done so much by sea and land to shatter his power and awaken him with cruel relentless buffetings from his dazzling dreams of empire, clung half unwilling to life. With her death the great struggle closes. Though the affront to Catherine of Aragon and the Church, and the blows dealt by the daughter of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn to the Spaniards' hopes of subduing the world to God and their king were unavenged, peace reigned at last between the world-wide empire of the past and the world-wide empire of the future.

W. E. TILTON.

*The Life and Campaigns of Alexander Leslie, First Earl of Leven.*

By CHARLES SANFORD TERRY, University Lecturer in History in the University of Aberdeen. (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1899. Pp. xix, 518.)

FROM the frontispiece of this substantial volume looks forth a man's face of a type quite different from that of his master in the school of war, Gustavus Adolphus, whose medallion hangs upon his breast. A distinctly gross figure, lacking dignity except as clothes may give it, and with a face indicating common origin and one would almost say, an in-

clination to cruelty. Part of the story told by the portrait is true ; part of it is not. Alexander Leslie was the illegitimate offspring of a cadet of an ancient race ; his mother was a "wench in Rannock." Born in 1582, in an age when "men fought for the love of fighting," if ever there was such an instinct, he early drifted to the Continental scenes of war, and eventually to the field where the great Swede was later to save Protestantism. Possessed neither of exemplary virtue nor of glaring vices, he was a canny Scotchman with his own way to make, who sought for a training in war unknown to the England of that day and, as was natural, when the time came made his profit thereby.

Leslie's early career is obscure, but in 1605 he had risen to be a captain in a Dutch regiment ; he later entered the service of Sweden, and in 1628 made himself a name by his obstinate defense of Stralsund against Wallenstein. Though he was not of those who rose to great distinction under the Protestant Hero, Leslie's services were highly esteemed by the King ; and he remained six years in Swedish employ after Gustavus's death at Lützen. With true Scotch thrift, after thirty years' labor as a soldier of fortune, Leslie was able to return home with abundant means.

Rather than what its title indicates, this volume is a detailed narrative, from original documents largely, of nine years of Leslie's career—1638 to 1647. In this period, however, fall Newburn, Marston Moor and the sieges of York and Newcastle, so that much interest attaches to the minute account of this part of his life. The book, however, deals more extensively with politics than with warfare.

With the wealth and the experience of war he had acquired, Leslie returned to Scotland. The one served to buy an earldom, and the other to place him in high military command during the interesting period when Charles, the Parliament and Scotland each maintained an army on British territory. From the First Bishops' War to the surrender of the King by the Scots, Leslie played a highly respectable rôle. Nothing about the man savors in the remotest degree of the divine afflatus which we look for in the captain ; neither had he a weighty voice in the political imbroglios ; but he won a complete, if easy, victory at Newburn, where he outnumbered the English at least three to one ; at Marston Moor he not only marshalled the allies but yielded distinct help towards winning the battle which gave the name of "Ironsides" to Cromwell's troopers ; while at Dunbar he recognized plainly that he was beaten, and decamped in good season from his encounter with Cromwell, whom long before he had shrewdly discovered to be his superior.

Marston Moor is treated much at length by Mr. Terry, without, however, giving a very distinct picture of the battle. An archaeologically interesting chart of the battle (Prince Rupert's own sketch) somewhat confuses the narration ; for while it shows how the troops were paraded for battle, it interchanges the points of the compass. To be readily understood by the reader, battle charts should be drawn, as maps are, north and south. Now Rupert's army faced substantially south, and in the sketch it is shown facing up the page, *i. e.*, north—a natural method

of placing troops by one who has himself commanded them, but puzzling to the average reader.

Newburn was but a skirmish and a rout. Marston Moor was a battle with heavy loss, and some notable feats of arms; for Cromwell's brilliant conduct on this field is not in its way superior to the splendid gallantry of Newcastle's White Coats, who, like Fuentes' Spanish "battle" at Rocroy, stood their ground until a bare thirty of them were left. The Royalists, out of 17,500 men, lost some 3000 killed—largely by this massacre. The allies' loss was trivial. Mr. Terry claims for Leslie a marked credit in Cromwell's work. No doubt this credit is fairly awarded; it is, however, certain not only that the initiative which won the battle was Cromwell's, but that Leslie had no such *coup d'œil* or *go* in his make-up.

The chapter detailing the surrender of Charles to the Scotch, and their subsequent sale of their king to the Parliament for six months' pay, is a sad page in English history. Our modern advocate of British games will however be interested in knowing that the Earl of Leven, who was in constant waiting upon His Majesty, helped to enliven the King's and his own tedium by many a game of "Goffe."

Leven's later years are dismissed in a short chapter. The volume indeed gives scant notice to Leslie until as Field Marshal he reaches Scotland, an "old, little crooked souldier" of fifty-six years; nor is much more awarded to the Earl of Leven as Lord General from the age of sixty-five until he died at seventy-nine.

Leven was never long out of the harness. At seventy he asked to be relieved from command, pleading "waiknes, the unseparable companion of old aige," but was persuaded to remain "to be only redy to geive his best advyse." In 1651 he was captured by a raid of Monk's cavalry, sent to London and confined in the Tower. Queen Christina interposed in his favor and he was three years later restored to his estates.

To Leslie war was a trade and not, as to Cromwell, a means to a political end. Few soldiers of fortune accumulate wealth. He did, and by many contemporaries he was accused of questionable methods. His conduct also was impugned at Marston Moor and Dunbar by some of his enemies; but no man lacking courage could so long have served under the earnest eye of Gustavus Adolphus.

There is much between these covers which adds to our knowledge of the troublous period from 1638 to 1647; but the volume is scarcely a Life of the Earl of Leven. Nor could it fairly be claimed that Alexander Leslie is deserving a book of 500 pages.

The type and the general get-up of the volume are excellent. More than half the contents consists of extracts and letters, of varying interest, but valuable. The style is direct, but necessarily interrupted by these inserts. As a contribution to the political history of the nine years it covers it shows a perfect *raison d'être*. As a contribution to military history it shows less.

THEODORE AYRAULT DODGE.